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SUBJECT: BALTIMORE SUN ANALYSIS: ISRAEL WINS MAJOR

CONCESSIONS FROM US AND EGYPT.

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS (FUNSETH)

FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTED SECTIONS OF MICHAEL PARK'S NEWS
ANALYSIS PIECE WHICH APPEARED IN BALTIMORE SUN, THURSDAY,
AUGUST 28, 1975.

WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW SINAI ACCORD ARLY COMPLETE,
ISRAEL HAS DRIVEN AN AMAZINGLY HARD BARGAIN NOT ONLY WITH
EGYPT BUT ALSO WITH THE UNITED STATES.

FOR THE PRICE OF A 30-MILE WITHDRAWAL IN THE SINAI DESERT,
ISRAEL WILL GET POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FROM EGYPT THAT
WERE UNTHINKABLE FIVE MONTHS AGO WHEN TALKS ON A NEW INTERIM
AGREEMENT COLLAPSED.

FOR ALLOWING ITSELF TO BE PRESSURED -- OR, APPEAR TO BE
PRESSURED -- BY THE UNITED STATES INTO THE SINAI PULLBACK,
ISRAEL WILL GET A VAST NEW AMERICAN COMMITMENT OF AID AND
SUPPORT.

ISRAEL'S PRINCIPAL BARGAINING CHIP IN THE TALKS WAS NOT THE
EGYPTIAN TERRITORY IT WILL BE GIVING UP BUT THE THREAT OF
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THE NEW ACCORDS' REJECTION BY ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION IF IT
APPEARED TOO WEAK.

BEHIND THIS THREAT IMPLICITLY LAY ANOTHER: A FAR TOUGHER
STAND HERE, PERHAPS EVEN A NEW GOVERNMENT OF HAWKS,

SHOULD NEGOTIATIONS AGAIN FAIL. BOTH AMERICAN AND EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS BOUGHT THIS ARGUMENT TO A LARGE DEGREE, ACCORDING TO JERUSALEM AND WASHINGTON SOURCES WHO PARTICIPATED IN OR FOLLOWED THE NEGOTIATIONS CLOSELY OVER THE SUMMER.

PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN SUCCEEDED 'IN TURNING HIS POLITICAL WEAKNESS IN MARCH INTO CONSIDERABLE STRENGTH, WHICH HAD TO BE RECOGNIZED BY BOTH THE EGYPTIANS AND BY US,' A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL COMMENTED.

YET, THE ISRAELI PUBLIC WAS READY TO ACCEPT MUCH LESS THAN IT WILL GET IN THE NEW AGREEMENT, ACCORDING TO PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HERE AND INFORMED ISRAELIS WHO HELPED FORMULATE JERUSALEM'S NEGOTIATING STRATEGY.

THE RESULT IS AN ACCORD, WHEN VIEWED IN HARD, PRACTICAL TERMS, UNDER WHICH ISRAEL'S RISKS ARE RELATIVELY SMALLER THAN THOSE OF EGYPT AND ITS GAINS CONSIDERABLY GREATER...

THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO COMMITTED, ACCORDING TO AMERICAN AND ISRAELI OFFICIALS, TO GUARANTEEING ISRAEL AN UNINTERRUPTED FLOW OF OIL, MAKING UP WHATEVER IRAN FAILS TO DELIVER, AND TO BUILDING UP A YEAR'S SUPPLY OF OIL IN NEW, \$50 MILLION ISRAELI STORAGE TANKS.

AFTER GETTING AGREEMENT FROM CAIRO THAT THE ACCORD REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL SUPERSEDED BY A NEW PACT, JERUSALEM RELENTED IN ITS DEMAND THAT UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCES BE KEPT IN THE SINAI BUFFER ZONE FOR FIVE YEARS; INSTEAD, THE PACT PROVIDES THEY WILL REMAIN FOR AT LEAST THREE -- AND ISRAEL WON ANOTHER YEAR WHEN TALKS COLLAPSED LAST MARCH.

ISRAEL ALSO SOFTENED ITS DEMAND FOR A PUBLIC EGYPTIAN PLEDGE OF NONBELLIGERENCY, ACCEPTING INSTEAD AN AGREEMENT UNCLASSIFIED

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TO REFRAIN FROM USE OF THREAT OF FORCE AND A WIDELY PUBLICIZED 'SECRET UNDERTAKING' NOT TO JOIN OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES IN A WAR AGAINST ISRAEL UNLESS ISRAEL ATTACKS FIRST. ISRAELI OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE THERE IS LITTLE PRACTICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO FORMULATIONS.

WHAT EGYPT GAINS PRIMARILY IS A PERIOD OF PROMISED STABILITY, THE CHANCE TO FOCUS ITS ENERGY AND RESOURCES ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE TERRITORY CAIRO RECOVERS IS

ESSENTIALLY OF SYMBOLIC VALUE. THE RETURN OF THE ABU RUDEIS OILFIELD WILL EASE SOMEWHAT EGYPT'S BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS CRISIS BY PROVIDING OIL FOR EXPORT. THE PRESENT MILITARY BALANCE WILL NOT CHANGE ESSENTIALLY.

THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO MAKING A SERIES OF POLITICAL COMMITMENTS TO ISRAEL, INCLUDING THE STATIONING OF AMERICAN CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS IN THE BUFFER ZONE AS A GUARANTEE OF PEACE. ALTHOUGH NOT YET FINAL, THESE COMMITMENTS INCLUDE A PROMISE NOT TO PUSH ISRAEL INTO MAJOR WITHDRAWALS ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IN A NEW ACCORD WITH SYRIA, NOT TO PRESS FOR ANOTHER INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT, NOT TO RECOGNIZE OR EVEN DEAL WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AND NOT TO PROPOSE AN OVERALL PEACE SETTLEMENT WITHOUT ISRAELI APPROVAL.

IN ADDITION, THE U.S. WILL PLEDGE TO DEFEND ISRAEL AGAINST ANY SOVIET ATTACK OR THREAT OF ATTACK AND WILL COMMIT ITSELF TO UNINTERRUPTED, LONG-TERM DELIVERIES OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY.

ISRAELI OFFICIALS SAY THEY NEED SUCH SWEEPING COMMITMENTS -- MR. KISSINGER LIKENED THEM TO THE AMERICAN TIES WITH THE NORTH ATLANTIC ORGANIZATION AND JAPAN -- TO PROTECT IT FOLLOWING ITS SINAI PULLBACK AND TO JUSTIFY ITS MILITARY CONCESSIONS.

YET, THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE AMERICAN SECURITY GUARANTEES, POLITICAL PROMISES AND FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS LEAVE ISRAEL IN A FAR STRONGER POSITION THAN BEFORE SINCE PRESSURE FOR FURTHER CONCESSIONS HAS BEEN FORESTALLED, UNCLASSIFIED

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ISRAELI MILITARY SUPERIORITY HAS BEEN GUARANTEED AND THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC AID GREATLY INCREASED.

THE ONLY PROBLEM THAT PRIME MINISTER RABIN FACES IS CONVINCING ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION THAT THE DEAL HE HAS NEGOTIATED PROVIDES MORE AT A LOWER COST THAN THE PROPOSAL HE REJECTED IN MARCH.

'HE ENCOURAGED PUBLIC SENTIMENT AGAINST AN INTERIM ACCORD AND HAS PLAYED IT SKILLFULLY THROUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS,' A DIPLOMATIC OBSERVER SAID, 'BUT NOW HE NEEDS TO TURN IT OFF.'

THIS SHOULD NOT PROVE TOO DIFFICULT, FOR AUTHORITATIVE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SHOW THAT, ALTHOUGH MOST ISRAELIS REMAIN SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE NEW AGREEMENT, EGYPT'S INTENTIONS AND CHANCES FOR A LASTING PEACE, THEY NEVERTHELESS STRONGLY SUPPORT AN INTERIM ACCORD AS THE ONLY LESS STRONGLY SUPPORT AN INTERIM ACCORD AS THE ONLY ROUTE FOR ISRAEL TO FOLLOW ..

ISRAEL PERHAPS WON ITS GREATEST CONCESSIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WILL GREATLY INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE

-- AND RESPONSIBILITIES -- IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS A RESULT
OF THE AGREEMENT. SINCE THIS WILL MAKE THE UNITED STATES
THE PREDOMINANT SUPERPOWER IN THE REGION, ISRAEL HAS
CALCULATED THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO PAY A HIGH
PRICE. WASHINGTON IS SIGNING NOT JUST THE CAIRO-
JERUSALEM PACT AS A GUARANTOR BUT ALSO WHAT WILL AMOUNT TO
A SECURITY AND MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID AGREEMENT WITH
ISRAEL ..

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